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ABSTRACT

Native American Vietnam War veterans offer important concepts and techniques concerning the reintegration process which may be generalized to psychiatry as a whole and which may be particularly valuable to the adjustment and treatment of other Vietnam War veterans. Native American psychological healing practices as applied to returning war veterans suggest many useful approaches for other survivors of trauma as well. Critical within these practices is a view of human functioning which is non-reductionist and which takes into account the whole of the person. This includes religious, spiritual, psychological, physical, and systemic functioning. While individual tribal healing practices offer ideas for clinicians, the clinical example offering the broadest representation is the Vietnam Veteran Inter-Tribal Association national Pow-Wows which bring together Native American veterans from dozens of tribes and backgrounds. The usefulness of the community and family is demonstrated at these yearly gatherings, as is the traditional healing approach which makes no barriers among the individual's body, mind, and environment. If man is to survive unknown future events, he must learn how to absorb change and deal with its psychological stress. Native Americans, forced to deal with change and chaos for centuries, have developed many effective techniques for coping which may be equally valuable to the larger American society. (NRB)

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Lessons from Child of Water

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Native American psychological healing practices as applied to returning war veterans suggest many useful approaches not only for that particular population but other survivors of trauma. Critical within these practices is a view of human functioning which is non-reductionist and takes into account the whole of the person. This includes religious, spiritual, psychological, physical, and systemic functioning.

While examples of individual tribal healing practices are cited, the clinical example offering the broadest representation is the Vietnam Veteran Inter-Tribal Association national Pow-Wows which bring together Native American veterans from dozens of tribes and backgrounds. The usefulness of the community and family is amptly demonstrated at these yearly gatherings, as is the traditional healing approach which makes no barriers between the individual's body, mind, and environment.

We honor our warriors because they are brave and because by seeing Death on the battlefield they know the greatness of Life.

--Winnebago elder

This paper examines the perceptions and treatment of psychological combat reactions by Native Americans. Its goal is to provide the reader with an introduction to the clinical implications of these perceptions and treatment in order to encourage a closer examination of what Native American healers have to offer mental health professionals trained in the mainstream American (what I will refer to as "Anglo") psychological tradition. To do this we shall briefly examine how Native Americans regard war and the role of warriors, for this cultural perception influences how combat reactions, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, are perceived and treated.

Regardless of the value of what we might learn from Native American culture, it does not matter what they say if we will not hear. It is necessary to consider attitudes typically held towards the concepts and techniques of Native American healing practices if we wish for this examination to be more than an anthropological exposition and have clinical value for Anglo mental health professionals.

<u>On resistance</u>

It is something of a common place to state there are some practices of "folk" healing which are effective. Anglo psychiatry and psychology make this admission at best grudgingly. The caveat is added that such "folk" practices have been

superseded by more modern science.

Such a position grossly underestimates the value of studying the traditional healing practices of Native Americans. Their psychological arts developed over several millenia and they survived the impact of Hispanic and Anglo cultures. They continue to exist to this day with undiminished effectiveness, frequently coexisting with and even supplementing Anglo healing practices. Practices which have remained effective through to the present day in spite of these cultural challenges should not be taken lightly. Repeatedly perceptive and sensitive observers of Native American culture have noted not only its healing practices' survival but effectiveness as well (Jilek, 1971).

However, it is not only that Native American healing practices are viewed as coming from what is typically regarded as a "primitive" source which causes Anglo mental health professionals hesitation in studying them. In considering Native American psychology, a difficulty is encountered by Anglo healers because of the apparent intermingling and coexistence of religion.

Hultkranz (1979) has noted that Native Americans typically do not have a single word for what Anglo culture would mean by "religion" since there is no separation of religion from Native American life: "To the extent that Indian languages use an expression for exclusively religious customs there is often reason to suspect influences from Christian preaching and Christian practice." (p. 9) This permeation of culture by

religion may result in the Anglo observer becoming somewhat uncomfortable for several reasons.

First, Anglo mental health professionals are caught up in a struggle to establish themselves as scientists. There is a very natural desire on the part of such mental health professionals to develop the kinds of techniques of measurement, prediction and control available to professionals in other fields. The scientific method is continually stressed in training. An examination of most current psychological journals will reveal an emphasis on hard data and measurement. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to take seriously religion. More importantly, perhaps, it is difficult to be perceived as taking religion seriously.

Second, as a particular, the religions of Native Americans are regarded as "primitive" from the perspective of the Judeo-Christian Anglo observer. Admitting this is difficult due to the typical Anglo mental health professional's desire to be as nonjudgmental and open minded as possible (or, again, to be perceived so).

Yet the reality is that Native American psychology is not separate from Native American religion. Within its cultural context, it is able to address human needs for change and growth. Rather than restrict itself to cognitive, emotive, behavioral, or existential functioning, as do the primary theories of psychotherapy in the Anglo tradition, Native American psychology offers and utilizes a truly integrated perspective and approach.

To state this in another way, a Native American healer would find very little problem in approaching psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, sociology, and all the other divisions in Anglo knowledge in order to draw together from them all a synthesis of ideas. The problems outlined above are simply nonexistent to such healers.

If we can remain aware of our tendency to close our ears to the words of Native American healers, there is much we might learn from them. The experiences of a new generation of veterans invites attention to their practices. Specifically, Native American Vietnam War veterans, while experiencing some particular events unique to their cultures, offer important concepts and techniques concerning the reintegration process. These concepts and techniques may be generalized to psychiatry as a whole and certainly have particular value in considering the adjustment and treatment of other Vietnam War veterans.

This discussion cannot attempt to be comprehensive but may highlight some of the psychiatric techniques and psychological concepts which are particularly relevant to the treatment of war-related reactions among Vietnam War veterans. A truly comprehensive examination would require the study of the many different Native American cultures in a manner not yet achieved. It is important to note, given the richness and variety of Native American cultures existing across some 300 tribes, the specific techniques cited here are simplifications of examples from particular cultures. Other Native American practices are

different in specific detail, though the principles remain constant.

War reactions

Since the end of the Vietnam War there has been an increase in interest in war reactions by the Anglo mental health community. This interest led to the development of post-traumatic stress disorder as a diagnostic label in DSM-III (American Psychiatric Association, 1982). Briefly, the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder requires the historical existence of a traumatic stressor, its reexperiencing through dreams, intrusive recollections, or "flashback" phenomena, a numbing of responsiveness to or a withdrawal from the environment, and the existence of at least two other symptoms from a group including survivor guilt, startle reactions, sleep disturbances, memory or concentration problems, avoidance of reminders of the trauma, and an increase in symptom severity when exposed to those reminders.

Current clinical impressions and research suggest post-traumatic stress disorder is the expected reaction of essentially normal people to severe stressor events. This has not been a universally accepted concept. There has been a debate about the role of pretrauma variables. Recent research, especially that conducted by J. J. Card (1983), would appear to have removed such variables from the role of predispositional agents and identified them as modifiers of particular individual reactions.

The concept of post-traumatic stress disorder as essentially the reaction of normal people to abnormal stress is similar to the view of Native Americans. They tend to view combat reactions as a problem of the spirit as much, or more than, a problem of the mind. A potential vulnerability of the spirit exists for all people. For reasons which will become clearer, they view Warriors as people who have been placed in a particular spiritual danger by their participation in war.

The role of Warriors

Anglo society tends to assume Native Americans regard war in a generally positive fashion, at best seeing it as an integral part of their culture. At worst, Native Americans still are viewed in stereotypic ways as bloodthirsty savages embracing war as a joyful experience. From the Native American perspective, going to war does in fact have a religious significance in addition to whatever other factors are involved. (If the reader is uncomfortable with the word "religious" please feel free to insert the words "spiritual" or "psychological"; if you understand that this interchange of terminology presents the Native American healer with no problems then you are beginning to understand the comprehensiveness of their perspective.) To understand this point it is helpful to examine the traditions of these people.

For example, one tribe includes within its centuries old mythology the following story. In the beginning, before humankind, there was White Painted Woman, bringer of life. She

had many children, including Killer of Monsters and his younger brother, Child of Water. But there were great monsters during this time as well and the most awful of these was Giant, who killed and destroyed wherever he went. He even killed and ate some of the children of White Painted Woman. While Giant and the other monsters roamed, there was only chaos, with no order in the universe and peace impossible. Finally, Child of Water and his brother went to fight Giant and Child of Water killed him. Then Child of Water and Killer of Monsters subdued the other monsters so that the forces of darkness and chaos were defeated. From the terror and pain of battle, Child of Water brought peace to the earth.

When this tribe prepared for war, usual names were discarded and the women were called "White Painted Woman" and the Warriors took the name "Child of Water", which served to remind all that their purpose in fighting was to end the disruption of the natural harmony brought about by the ultimate "Giant", war. It would come as a surprise to some to learn that this tribe which viewed war so negatively are those generally regarded as among the most warlike, the Apache.

From the Native American perspective, war is viewed as a major disruption of the natural order of life and the universe. Only the most serious reasons suffice for entering into its chaotic destruction. Those who partake in it risk serious danger on many levels. Often, the Warriors are in need of special preparation for the ordeal of war as well as cleansing and

healing so that they might once more become a part of the people.

Some tribes, such as the Pueblo and Pima, so despise war that they viewed those who would be willing to initiate even the lesser disruption of economic raiding (such as Yumans and, most especially in their experience, Apache) as necessarily nonhuman (Mansfield, 1982; Underhill, 1965). Even the Apache, to use an example of a "war-like" tribe, were well able to differentiate between war economic raiding, about which more will be said later (Goodwin, 1971).

To a lesser extent, war may be seen by a particular tribe as the ultimate testing ground of a Warrior and to have participated in combat is to have had the opportunity to develop as a person. Those who partake in it are in need of recognition of their achievement and sacrifices and in need of closure so that there may be a separation of their roles as Warriors in combat and their roles as Warriors living among their people. The degree to which war is seen as such an opportunity for achievement varies widely among the various tribes.

It should be understood that even among the tribes which emphasize the utility of war as a means of achievement for the Warrior, war is still seen as a source of extreme spiritual danger. They recognize that the chaos generated within a war may expose the Warrior to experiences profoundly disturbing. A serious effort is often made among these tribes to control this chaos by ritualizing the conduct of war. Thus, there may be less

honor to be gained in the simple act of killing than in demonstrating courage by counting coup--physically touching an enemy without killing him--or other similar acts. Only under threat of destruction of their culture, religion, and people did the Apache engage in a war of annihilation against the Spanish in the seventeenth century. The disruption of the natural order of life caused by the Spanish policies of slavery and genocide provoked not only the Apache but the Navaho, Pueblo, and Pima to war in a massive rebellion (Terrell, 1972).

Additionally, even for those few tribes, such as the Apache, whose marginal environmental resources pressured them towards war and raiding for economic benefits, the emphasis was seldom on bloodshed but rather on the achievement of those economic goals. A high "body count" was considered pointless while the capture of a large number of horses brought great praise (Goodwin, 1971, 1973; Opler, 1965).

All tribes, regardless of the degree of emphasis they place on the opportunity for achievement offered by war, see the Warrior as sacrificing on behalf of the people. To enter into the chaos and risk contamination in order to put an end of the disruption of the natural order is to take on a special role worthy of the highest respect. Likewise, to go to war against those forces which might destroy the people, to demonstrate courage in the face of danger, to be willing to fight and die for one's people is again recognized as a role worthy of the highest respect.

It is customary among many tribes to have special ceremonies in preparation of the Warriors' departure for war. Typically an older Warrior will address the young men, preparing them for what is to come and sharing with them whatever power his experience has brought him. The more structured the ritual, the greater the obvious sense of commitment on the part of the tribal community to the departing Warrior. Family and community, by ritual, make explicit the implied support of those tribal members who have taken on the roles of Warriors. Anglo society, on the other hand, tends to make this support less explicit, particularly in terms of the guarantee of reintegration of the Warrior.

From the perspective of Native Americans, it is a requirement to come to grips with the war experience. As noted, there is a special vulnerability for Native Americans as Warriors. This has resulted in some particular problems for Vietnam War veteran Warriors.

One could reasonably make the case that the need of all veterans, regardless of their cultural background, is to achieve some sort of integration of their combat experiences. This is an accurate observation. However, for Native American veterans this need is particularly acute because of the cultural emphasis on them has been explicit rather than implicit. These veterans represent an extreme case both in terms of cultural preparation and reintegration opportunities and problems. Therefore, their experiences offer the clinical observer particularly well drawn examples of the difficulties encountered by veterans in general.

Their experiences also clearly suggest methods of intervening those problems.

"No homecoming parades" is a shorthand description of the deeply felt sense of exclusion held by many Vietnam War veterans. This sense reflects the need for reintegration back into their society. That need is more deeply present among Vietnam War veterans whose culture places a religious and social expectation on the processes of going to war and returning from war.

Treatment and reintegration

> "Verily, who desires this experience? Do you not desire it? Then you must endure its many hardships."

This statement is spoken by an older Papago Warrior to a new "Enemy Slayer"each night for sixteen days during the purification of the young Warrior (Underhill, 1946, p. 179).

In her summary of "primitive" societies' view of their Warriors' reactions to war, Mansfield (1982) is able to contrast the typical tribal view with the most recent American experience. She points out that tribal societies are able to place a significance on participation in war which mainstream America could not. Ceremony provides the tribe and the Warrior an opportunity for shared mourning unavailable to others.

> But tribal people go a step further. Their ritual explicitly embraces and approves the killer's psychic numbing and prescribes a way for dealing with it. The fear of intimacy, of touching and being touched that is common in battle survivors and that in the twentieth century is

> labeled a sickness ("shell shock," "Vietnam Vet Syndrome," etc.) is accepted and even enforced in ritual warfare as an appropriate response to the experience of inflicting death in battle. The successful warrior is usually isolated from everyone except older killers and is specifically forbidden to touch or feed himself, to experience sexual intimacy, to touch the ground, and so forth. In effect, the numbing is externalized and formalized in a series of taboos; it is prescribed as a chosen response to the ordeal. (pp. 38-39)

Mansfield states that while research on the effectiveness of the traditional tribal healing practices on combat reactions has not been developed, an examination of those practices indicates that many of them are similar to accepted psychiatric practices for which research does exist. While her comments are made using information drawn from tribal societies from around the world, their particular relevance to Native American cultures is clear.

It is important to pause here and consider the dynamics of what we are describing. Native Americans, in their traditional cultures, have developed contracts with their Warriors concerning their roles and their reintegration. One might take the view that this would indicate that Native American combat veterans would be expected to have less severe trauma reactions, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, than their Anglo peers. However, this possibility may well be balanced by the experience of those Native American veterans who expected the reintegration process thus far described but have not yet, for whatever reason,

encountered it.

This would result in what I refer to as "sanctuary trauma", a condition in which a traumatized individual gains the hoped for sanctuary environment (such as emergency room, family, tribe, or country) only to encounter a reception which is not as supportive as anticipated. It does not have to be a hostile reception, though that is often the case for people such as raped women encountering police or Vietnam War veterans encountering their country, but may be one which is simply indifferent. The individual, defenses now dropped and expectations perhaps unreasonably high, encounters a sanctuary which is also a stressor. The more explicit the form and shape of the sanctuary and the reintegrative process, the greater the impact coming out of the disparity.

Those Native American Vietnam War veterans who had as a part of their upbringing learned the cultural values of Warriors had a need for a more explicit integrative process than Anglo veterans. I believe, therefore, that those Natie American veterans suffering from combat reactions who have not had the opportunity, for whatever reasons, to participate in their tribal reintegration process are probably suffering from conditions made worse than what one might expect given the nature of their trauma experiences alone.

Whatever the degree of severity of the Warrior's combat reaction, this reaction is not viewed in a simple way. One area in which there appears to be some agreement among Native American

healers is the concept of the unconscious mind. A primary means of interpreting the unconscious is through the utilization of dreams in which unresolved conflicts are assumed to be symbolically represented. This major pillar of analytical thought predates Freud by many centuries among Native American healers.

For Warriors, it is assumed that the results of the combat experience may be hidden beneath the surface of consciousness and the elicitation of this often unresolved material is worked for in a number of different ways. The interpretation of dreams on the symbolic level as a means of understanding subconscious processes is common in many Native American cultures. Indeed, dreams are deliberately sought out for interpretation and their remembering is accepted as a normal and encouraged technique for eliciting material for the healing process.

Many Native Americans utilize trance states as a means for not only identifying unresolved issues, often expressed symbolically, but for curative effects. Prolonged ceremonies for returning combat veterans typically, as in the traditions of both Plains and Mountain Native Americans, foster trance and self-hypnotic states. In these states the emotional consequences of combat are surfaced and catharsis is achieved in a structured and supportive environment.

Besides ritual, trance states, and the interpretation of dreams the subconscious mind is approached in some cultures through the utilization of the accepted Anglo psychiatric

technique of psychopharmacological intervention. Peyote occupies a position of significance within certain healing and religious practices. This relatively mild hallucinogen may serve the purposes of eliciting repressed conflictual material or of increasing insight and understanding of the self. Within the Native American Church, whose members include Native Americans with a wide variety of tribal affiliations, peyote is typically a part of their ceremonies used to assist members with the resolution of their problems (Bergman, 1971, 1974).

It should be understood that the effect of peyote is generally not as dramatic as that usually associated with sodium pentathol interviews, which were commonly used with World War II veterans. Native American Vietnam veterans who have participated in peyote ceremonies in the context of the services of the Native American Church report a number of factors making the experience different. First, it takes place as part of a religious service. Second, while guidance and supervision is provided by a group leader, there is participation by a number of people, making the experience one of community rather than solitude. Third, the participant generally has recall of the material surfacing during the service, whereas the pentathol interview is generally not consciously recalled. Finally, during the peyote ceremony there is no attempt made by the leader to steer the individual's focus onto war related or even conflicted material, though it is common to have major concerns represented explicitly or symbolically. During the pentathol interview, the psychiatrist explicitly

guides the person to return to the source of conflict or trauma.

Clinically, the similarities of major importance appear to be two. First, repressed material is surfaced either explicitly or symbolically. Second, the individual is able to accept at a profound level conflict resolution and ego enhancing suggestions in a manner not unlike that possible in a deep hypnotic trance.

The utilization of peyote and other substances is not offered here as a recommended treatment approach; however, it is not ruled out. There is much in the way of meaningful research which could be done in this neglected area. The important point is that, even prior to the foundation of the Native American Church, such substances were used among many tribes for a variety of religious and therapeutic purposes. The fact that this technique has remained active across the centuries in and of itself would suggest it is well worth investigating, particularly as a method for the eliciting of repressed combat experiences.

The surfacing of the war experiences may be accomplished through a number of ways, with some used concurrently as a part of ritual and ceremony. These practices often include family and network therapeutic approaches. Uri Rueveni's (1979) extension of family therapy to nclude the neighborhood was predated by the utilization of the entire community by medicine folk. For example, many of the Enemy Way ceremony, used by the Navaho for the reintegration of their Warriors focuses upon the individual while making use of the entire extended family and community. Lasting a week, all are involved to some degree in discussion,

ceremony, and prayer. While the individual, sitting in a hogan may face the healer alone, all around is the community and the support provided is very powerful.

The utilization of the extended family and community is quite common among Native Americans. In some ceremonies recognizing warriors, the veteran is required to address the community, often made up of several hundred people, and relate a personal combat experience. Often this is the first time the veteran has talked about his experience. Tears may be shed as catharsis is achieved. The community demonstrates, by its presence and attentiveness, its valuing of the veteran and the veteran's experience. From an experience which the veteran may have been enduring negative feelings, the community serves to reframe the experience into one which has at least some positive value.

Often the direct approach to issues in not taken. This may be due to the respect felt for the individual, appreciation for the power of the experience, or for other reasons. The unresolved issues coming out of the combat experience may be approached through the powerful usage of metaphor. With the comparatively modern work of Gregory Bateson and Milton Erickson metaphor and related indirect approaches have come under serious study. For Native Americans metaphor has traditionally permitted communication on a variety of levels simultaneously.

Perhaps the single most important element within Native American healing practices offering value to Anglo psychiatry is

the emphasis upon the whole of the individual. Tribal healers, themselves representatives of religious, legal, social, and medical facets of their cultures, make no barrier between the individual's body, mind, and environment.

Clinical Example

In September, 1983, the Vietnam Veteran Inter-Tribal Association held its second national Pow-Wow at Anadarko, Oklahoma. Attending were Native American Vietnam veterans from across the United States with a variety of tribal affiliations. Many of them had been raised within the environments of their tribal cultures but an informal survey indicated that at least as many had not. Interestingly, a large number had incorporated large amounts of their tribal cultures and traditions into their lives, even when living in urban settings, since returning from the Vietnam War.

Many of the families of the Association members accompanied them, including children, parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. Also attending were Native American veterans of other eras and organizations, many with their families as well, and large numbers of Cheyenne and Arapaho, on whose joint land the Pow-Wow was held. Close to 2000 people attended during the weekend, with about half that number present at any one time.

While Pow-Wows may be used to serve many purposes, this particular gathering was unique in a number of ways. First, while most Pow-Wows are generally held within the setting of one

tribe, this one was sponsored by an Association whose membership is spread across more than sixty tribes. Second, the emphasis of the Pow-Wow was on the honoring of a specific group of Warriors, the Vietnam War veterans. Ordinarily, Pow-Wows are used for less specific purposes.

Because of its focus, the Pow-Wow, and the ceremonies which took place within it, served as a demonstration of a number of the techniques briefly described above.

Present during the Pow-Wow were a number of Anglo observers, including some local residents, a Veterans Administration video crew, and a video crew from a Vietnam veteran news organization. Throughout the Pow-Wow people were encouraged to photograph and tape the ceremonies and there was no animosity displayed towards the presence of these nonNative American people.

Traditionally, the Pow-Wow area is regarded as religious ground and there is an implicit prohibition on the use of alcohol, drugs, rough language, and violence. In the course of the entire weekend, no drugs were observed, though a small cup of an alcoholic beverage did circulate among a small group of veterans briefly one evening. The general atmosphere was at all times warm, supportive, and friendly. Traditional cultural rivalries seemed to be totally dropped. At one point, for example, a Hopi woman initiated a conversation with a part Apache veteran by welcoming him home and then engaged him in a discussion concerning the possible roots of his name.

While advertised to begin at a specific time, the ceremonial

dances began when the lead chanter felt that it was appropriate to do so. The only people who seemed impatient with this were the film crew from the Veterans Administration, but they soon understood that the feelings of the participants and not the clock dictated the pacing of events.

Throughout the weekend, when specific ceremonial dances were not being performed, Gourd Dances were virtually continuously conducted. The Gourd Dance, named after the gourd-like rattle carried by the participants, is a circular dance with the participants facing inward towards the chanter and drum. The Warriors wore long, narrow, blue and red blankets around their shoulders, with the red side on the left if they had actually been in combat. Many wore unit identifications, such as Marine Corps or Airborne emblems, and combat decorations on their cloaks. Most also had small medicine bags tied to leather strings looped over their backs and carried eagle feathers in their hands.

The first major indication of the degree of family and community involvement in these ceremonies was demonstrated during the Gourd Dances. The Vietnam veterans and the veterans of other wars and eras of service formed an inner circle, slowly approaching the drum and then withdrawing together. In an outer circle were the women relatives and supporters of the men. This included not only female family members but friends and other women who wished to demonstrate their support of the veterans.

Many of the women wore shawls which were emblazoned with the

Inter-Tribal Association emblem (a saffron-colored warshield fringed in green with three vertical red stripes, behind which there were two crossed arrows, with eagle feathers hanging below, scalps hanging alongside, and an M-16 rifle above it). Across the shield most had the name of the man they honored and the unit he served with in Vietnam and the years of that service.

It was noteworthy that at no time in the many hours of Gourd Dancing did the men ever dance alone. Further, dancing in the inner circle were small boys. It appeared clear that an implicit contract was being made with these boys to the effect that they were seeing the promise of their people to support them if they had to be Warriors, just as they were involved with their people in supporting the newest generation of Warriors.

The multigenerational involvement went in the other direction as well. Veterans of both World Wars--fathers, grandfathers, and greatgrandfathers--were present in the inner circle. A sense of shared continuity was clearly in evidence and this aspect of traditional tribal support was emphasized by the presence of members of the various tribal Warrior societies, some of which have been in existence for centuries.

During the Pow-Wow various individual Warriors were honored by the people gathered together. One Vietnam veteran had been selected as the main Pow-Wow honoree and others were singled out during the ceremonies for special mention. When a Warrior was so honored many of the people would give him gifts of blankets and other items. Among Native Americans there is a great deal of

spiritual honor to be gained in not only receiving but in the giving of gifts. Traditionally enchancing the degree of honor is the status of the individual to whom or in whose name the gift is given. Thus, gifts were presented in the names of various Warriors, honoring the giver and the recipient, and making an important psychological point.

Within the cultural context of these Native Americans, the giving of gifts took on an added value because of the status of the Warrior. In other words, the experiences which the Warrior might have had some negative feeling about were reframed by this custom to have a positive spiritual value. This dovetailed with the multigenerational and family support demonstrated through the dances and other ceremonies in making the Warrior's experience a shared community experience.

Processional dances took place primarily in the evenings and were used to honor particular groups and individuals. Again, virtually everyone present would participate, regardless of tribal background. Special Vietnam veteran chants were used during these dances, which became emotionally intense for the participants particularly on the last evening.

In such processional dances in the past, the Warriors have led the column with captured North Vietnamese weapons held aloft. Behind they dragged captured enemy flags, across which their women relatives would dance. The clear communication was that the Warriors' experiences were not regarded as something separate from the rest of the community but was shared by all.

The large number of people, the powerful beat of three large drums, the chanting of over a dozen singers, the traditional garb of many of the participants, and the culmination of the several days of dancing and ceremonies produced a number of effects among the participants.

First, of course, was the powerful sense of community identity. One Vietnam veteran whose Native American heritage was relatively remote found himself experiencing an intense feeling of belonging which he could later compare with only two other situations in his life--his own immediate family and his combat unit in Vietnam. For Warriors raised with a greater exposure to their culture the effect was far more profound.

Second, the combat experience which established the Warrior's identification as a Warrior was clearly valued by the community as a whole. At one point a Mohawk and an Apache were called out into the dance arena to be identified. Their war records were recited and the gathered people honored them with yells, gourd rattlings, beating the drums, and ululations from the women.

Third, the community valuing of the Warrior's experience encouraged its surfacing. It was interesting to hear spontaneous discussion groups of Warriors form to share their combat experiences, many of which were quite powerful. A number of veterans who had not discussed their war experiences previously stated that they found themselves talking about them during the Pow-Wow to other veterans.

Fourth, the effects of sanctuary trauma appeared to be mitigated by such experiences. Many of the veterans remarked that the Pow-Wow made them feel they had finally been brought back home during these ceremonies, though it was clear they were differentiating between their country and their culture.

Conclusion

Even a brief and general examination of Native American culture reveals methods and techniques of therapeutic practice very typical of Anglo psychiatry and psychology. Specifically in the area of trauma reactions, specific techniques to one side, there would appear to be two major areas of emphasis. As noted in the description of the activities of the Inter-Tribal Pow-Wow, these are the valuing of the Warrior and the overt community support and acceptance of the Warrior.

Whatever the theoretical paradigm of the Anglo clinician examining Native American healing, it is clear there is much of value to be seen. The use of the community as a part of the healing process is particularly significant. This utilization of systemic thinking, however, does not exclude consideration of intrapsychic processes. One of the greatest values of such examination is that it may force the observer to stretch the boundaries of her or his theoretical paradigm to accommodate the comprehensive perspective and practice of Native American healers (Beiser & DeGroat, 1974).

But perhaps the greatest value of studying these healing practices may be found beyond the benefit it offers to

individuals in distress. It is worth noting that the cultures briefly mentioned here have existed for thousands of years. As noted in the beginning of this paper, the hammer blows to these cultures have been many and powerful, yet they continue to endure and even grow stronger where they have not been annihilated.

As we look to the future it is clear that our society, our country, indeed, the whole human race, is going to be receiving blows of a nature we can only guess at. One thing of which we may be certain is that the hammer of change is going to continue to strike. It seems to me that if we are to survive we must learn how to absorb this change and deal with its psychological stress.

We have among us over 300 examples of peoples who have already gained the most important lesson Child of Water could teach--how to survive chaos. They have survived much since Child of Water and his brother went to face Giant. Having learned the lesson well, perhaps it is time for the rest of us to learn it.

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